THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Aid Compromise

The Editors

Is Quadros Finished?

Ronald Scheman

Battles of the Sexes

Stanley Kauffmann

Hands of the Enemy

Paul Lauter

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T.R.B. *from* *Washington*

The Smell of Danger

★ When the world comes to an end we are persuaded it will be preceded by a two-space flash on our news ticker; Gabriel's trump will go "Ping-ping-ping." Last week we had settled down to write Kennedy's press conference when the importunate bell sounded. Datelined "Washington," the machine wrote: "The US announced today it has intercepted a Soviet radio broadcast indicating Russia has decided to resume nuclear weapons tests."

The time – 6:23. Formal Moscow announcement came tersely at 7:10; the grim White House reply around 9:30. After that a long summer night with the smell of danger in the air.

Every week it has seemed things couldn't get worse, and they have got worse. Where they will go now we can't guess but that ting-ting of the ticker marked some kind of a dividing line. Moscow no longer cares about world opinion.

If we were running a broker's office on Mars, say, we should quote the chances of Earth's survival at a rather reduced rate. Nationalism is breaking out all over and along with it comes a second revolution, bigger explosives. The two things go together. In a year or so Red China will blow off its first bomb and who can, in logic, deny what follows? In no time at all atomic weapons will be as cheap as sprats. Cuba will have them, Nasser will have them, Inner, Outer and Under Mongolia will probably have them. And in logic, too, who can doubt that somebody won't use them? What new weapon hasn't been used that busy little inventors turned up? Not one, unless we except gas warfare in WW II, which was more of a nuisance than a weapon anyway.

So there we are folks. Doomed. The Iceman Cometh. And yet who, down in his heart, believes it? We can't believe it! We keep going back to that afternoon, July 25, when Kennedy made his TV speech on the Berlin crisis. While we were hanging around for the advance text the nicest rainbow you ever saw arched right over the White House, and in no time blessed if a second didn't show up – a bit anemic but absolutely real! Portent? Not a doubt of it.

Congress is near its close and it is time for first appraisals. The legislative record is not too bad. A more ardent President would have tried to drive Congress harder; perhaps got less. Kennedy characteristically played it cool. Enemies found him hard to hit. Last week, for example, he called the compromise foreign aid bill "wholly satisfactory" just when gleeful Republicans were ready to taunt him with a stunning defeat. Fast footwork like this confuses the opposition but it also leaves supporters a little uncertain.

What a Record!

★ The President is the great teacher in America. Learning comes fastest amidst lively dispute. Kennedy has been a disappointment as teacher. After eight months the public is as confused about elementary economics as when Eisenhower left. Perhaps it was lack of time. But no rousing "cause" has forced Kennedy to appeal to the nation over the heads of Congress nor is it likely to; he has not averaged many more press conferences than the reluctant Eisenhower.

There has been a drift to the Right in Washington, we think, both in the White House and Congress. Though unemployment remains at 7 percent and the gap between actual and potential US output at $50 billion, the President is not going to act precipitately but is going to see if current recovery won't solve the problem. Urgency has shifted to foreign affairs.

In Congress at the same time, Republicans have moved Right as Kennedy preempted the Center. They have voted against almost all social reform from minimum wage to better schools. What a record! Even Nelson Rockefeller is caught in the tide. He telegraphed all House Republicans in what seemed to be support for the Treasury long-range borrowing feature of the foreign aid bill. Columnist Alsop applauded. Then Rocky heard from angry GOP leaders what this might do to his 1964 nomination chances. Lamely, he sent telegrams to House leaders seeming to take just the opposite position.

Read It in the Digest

★ In the public *vs* private power controversy private utilities have an avowed, dedicated, persistent advocate, *The Reader's Digest*, selling 23 million copies monthly. Albert Cole, the magazine's general manager, told the Edison Electric Institute (the utilities' trade association) in June how "six or seven *Digest* editors" will work together creating one of these propaganda articles – "articles we have published in an effort to explain the advantages of private enterprise to our millions of readers." He expressed fervent hope that nobody in America will "have to secure their electric service from any government." This was certainly a frank admission of editorial intent from a magazine that refuses to publish letters in rebuttal because, as it explains, it always gets its facts right in the first place.

Incidentally, you probably won't read this in the *Digest*. William Bennett, businessman prime minister of British Columbia, who heads a local, middle-road conservative government, has just taken over by legislative action the British Columbia Electric Company, biggest utility in the province which sells gas, electricity and bus service to millions. Bennett was afraid the rival socialistic-oriented party, CCF, would grab the utility if he didn't. The big utility's headquarters is a landmark in Vancouver, it leaves its 3,000 windows lighted all night. Canny Canadians think they can save money by running it themselves.

Notes

★ Nixon has all but decided to run for Governor in California. . . . The National Student Association just voted 269-157 in favor of abolishing the House Un-American Activities Committee. . . . In opposition was the Young Americans for Freedom, a little league John Birch Society.

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The Aid Compromise

Having taken a well-advertised shellacking on aid to education, tax reform and medical care for the aged, the White House cannot be blamed too severely for putting the best face possible on the compromise foreign aid legislation enacted last week. It just would not do to appear the loser every time. The aid bill was thus given a cheerful greeting as "wholly satisfactory" despite the fact that its controversial – and critical – provision for Treasury borrowing authority had been roughly cast overboard.

The five-year authorization now approved by Congress for $7.2 billion in development loans over a five-year period does in some important respects represent a giant step upward from the niggling economic aid levels of the Eisenhower years. Though insisting on the checkrein implicit in regular annual appropriations, the conference committee report concedes the virtue of the long-term aid principle emphasized in Administration testimony by specifically anticipating long-term Presidential commitments to recipient governments up to the maximum of the authorized sums. In contrast to a total of $650 million in appropriations for the Development Loan Fund in the past year, the Administration has been entrusted with $1.2 billion during fiscal 1962 as a vote of confidence in its plans for a badly-needed reshaping and restaffing of the aid effort.

This amount is not subject to the day-in, day-out scrutiny which would have been required under the threatened Dirksen proviso that each loan over $5 million be submitted for review and possible veto by the appropriation committees of both chambers. Nor was the Administration challenged in the conference report on its clearly stated intention to spread repayment (in dollars) over as long as 50 years, and to calculate repayment terms "primarily on a judgment of the recipient country's over-all capacity to repay" rather than on the restrictive, self-liquidating-project standard of the Eisenhower Administration. Finally, in political terms, the Administration decision to defer to the brittle sensibilities of Congress on the issue of its power of the purse may have been the only means of temporarily placating what is a very surly Capitol temper on the aid issue while a nationwide sales job by aid supporters gets underway.

But if the aid compromise is no cause for weeping and wailing its serious and potentially disastrous weaknesses should nevertheless be clearly underscored. Everything now depends on the vigor and continuity of Executive leadership. Suppose, for example, that Mr. Kennedy

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"When You've Used This, You May Ask for Another."

should be swept out of office in 1964 in a presently unimaginable popular reaction to the course of world events. Or suppose that he is succeeded in 1968 by some faceless Republican (or Democrat) whose only commitment on aid and international issues in general is to the shifting fancies of the voters. The Congress and the country have yet to acknowledge that the terminal date for large-scale aid must be reckoned by the decade rather than the year.

The most obvious source of short-run difficulty in a perpetuation of the annual appropriations struggle may lie in seemingly inevitable controversies concerning what governments should be given how much aid. Congress is not likely to renege on its implicit commitment to live up in general terms to the authorized aid levels. The most serious conflicts, if they come, will in all probability be framed in the specific terms of why the US should aid left-nationalist regimes in, say, Algeria or Brazil or Laos. With each passing week it grows more painfully clear that most of the aid-receiving governments in the world are going to be politically unpalatable if not, in many cases, indigestible for most Americans. Unless, that is to say, the Executive is free to act and to explain its actions without fear of continual partisan political embroilment.

The underdeveloped countries are in most cases now facing a crisis of confidence. Population pressures and convulsive social rivalries slow down the pace of the most sophisticated economic development programs. Soviet and Chinese pressures on independent governments are taking on an increasingly savage intensity. Coming as it did only a few short weeks after the new Soviet Party Program with its stiffened line toward neutralism, Moscow's decision on the eve of the Belgrade neutralists' conference to resume nuclear testing was unmistakably a forerunner of psychological terror tactics likely to multiply in the months and years ahead. The answer to terror is not more terror. It is a banner of high hope held out to the people of the underdeveloped countries. But hopes do not run high when the US appears to be hedging its bets on their future at the very moment when Moscow issues a threatening new injunction that the future lies with the power of Communism.

Personality and Character

The September *Reader's Digest* presents a condensation of a newsmagazine cover story. Nothing of the sweep and vivacity characteristic of *Time* when it sets out to build up a personality has been lost. The man, like his country, "has burst on the world . . . temperamental, bristling with independence . . . greedy for greatness." The masses of his countrymen refer to him as "messiah" and "healer of our ills." His humor, his directness, "his resistance to compromise and his talent for chopping red tape" are celebrated. He is described as having an "iron will."

The man himself is quoted on the uses of authority: it must be "just but firm, bold and decisive, always ready to correct its own mistakes, but always sworn to discipline, morality and the general welfare." He is determined that he "will not be stopped unless by assassination."

The *Digest* heading adds a further estimate: "What he does with and for his key nation will vitally affect the entire hemisphere."

As the hard luck overhanging any editor would have it, what Janio Quadros was to do with and for his key nation became manifest almost simultaneously with the arrival of the September *Digest*. Quite possibly, as an informed and sympathetic American observer argues in this issue, the resignation of the Brazilian leader was meant as a piece of high political maneuver and Quadros will, in time, come back stronger than ever. But it is not difficult to imagine that the vaunted iron will suddenly rusted out, and that the explanation of the Quadros mystery is to be found in nothing more complicated than a distaste for his new experience of

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the burdens and frustrations of high office – that Quadros simply decided to say goodbye to it all and to quit.

With his countrymen choosing sides in a contest over the succession, and Fidel Castro's voice from afar urging the people to take up arms, one shrinks from attempting to appraise the effect of his action on Brazil and the hemisphere beyond pondering that it will probably prove profound. Our passing thoughts concern the hazards of editorship, the evanescence of personality and the ease with which it can be mistaken for character, and that romantic American propensity for conjuring up supermen – men of iron will who personify national greatness, make trains run on time, and are known to the masses by affectionate nicknames.

Setback on Tax Reform

In announcing last week that it would defer tax legislation until next year the Administration has suffered a serious setback on tax reform – and a setback largely of its own making.

During the campaign, President Kennedy promised an incentive for business investment to stimulate economic growth through accelerated depreciation. But his nominee as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Professor Stanley Surrey of the Harvard Law School, transmuted the promised accelerated depreciation into the controversial investment credit. Instead of a simple depreciation writeoff against taxable income, the investment credit would have permitted an offset against the tax of a percentage of new investment – which the Treasury further complicated by requiring an investment level in excess of 50 percent of past investment as reflected by the taxpayer's current depreciation allowance before credit was applied. The idea was to deny the credit for investment that the taxpayer would normally have undertaken.

Professor Surrey is well known in tax law circles for his singleminded crusade against so-called windfalls. But salutary as the elimination of windfalls is in general, the application of the principle in this case served only to arouse the blanket suspicion of the business community. Moreover, it was urged persuasively during the hearings that predicating the investment credit on past investment might actually postpone investment. Companies might be induced to work down their depreciation allowance before making new investment so as to derive a greater credit in later years – in particular companies with adequate or over-capacity at the present time. Unfortunately, the Treasury Department's tactics in putting forward the proposed investment credit accentuated suspicion. During February, March and April, prior to the President's Tax Message, the proposal was shrouded in secrecy and mystery. Though the measure was meant to be "pro-

Learned Hand

Learned Hand was endowed with so many talents of heart and mind that it is difficult to choose those which were most characteristically his. First of all it must be said that he was thoroughly normal in his gusto for living, excellently balanced. As a skeptic he discarded the comforting magic of absolutes, and stood alone facing the adventure of life, while he felt its mysticism and asserted its values. Like Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, whom he greatly admired, he was never cynical, because life without values seemed to him intolerable. He did not believe that his values were eternal, but they were his – courage, a sense of humor that kept things relative, the spirit of liberty which "is not sure that it is right," and seeks to understand the lives of others. Above all he was tolerant. Yet his tolerance never touched indifference, and he was passionate in his beliefs as well as his feelings. I shall never forget what he said at a meeting of the Law Institute in Washington in May, 1941, putting aside his prepared address, trying to make us realize what the fall of France meant to civilization with an eloquence that made us ashamed that we had not felt as deeply about it as he felt.

To Learned Hand his friends were dear, and they felt his love. He was gay, and could be very funny. He was more companionable, more sharing than anyone I knew.

That Hand was imbued with a European culture, made him no less of an American, even if it left him with a relish for irony. He was democratic to the core, yet was not betrayed into the *clichés* and moralistic preaching which to Europeans so often speak of the American mind. He hated cant. He spent his long and outstanding career as a judge trying to find where truth lay, not in any field of the abstract, but in dealing with the concrete issues of American life. If the virtues which he held worthy were those of his own generation, his conviction that life was change and growth enabled him to meet the problems of law – which are but reflections of life – with an open mind and consistent objectiveness. That under the Constitution federal courts were given the undemocratic power to overrule acts of the Legislature made him cautious to exercise it. He insisted, as did Justice Holmes, whose philosophy of law he accepted, that personal convictions of judges should not be permitted to intrude into the decision of conflicting public policies. That his own were not eternal – however valiantly he fought to sustain them – made such a tolerant approach inevitable. He felt as a consequence that it was as improper for "liberal" judges to impose their views in reaching decisions as it had been for their conservative predecessors. A judge, he insisted, should act like a judge, not like a reformer.

Francis Biddle

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business," business was not in significant measure consulted in the shaping of the plan.

To be sure, the response of business was far from commendable once the plan was unveiled. Its representatives remained stubbornly wedded to accelerated depreciation despite the fact that an investment credit could, in fact, be just as effective. Had they been more pliable, the compromise on a straight credit of 8 or 6 percent which the Treasury is now prepared to accept could have been reached more amicably. The credit is to be limited to new machinery and equipment which will promote modernization – as it should have been from the start and as this journal suggested last January. But this compromise has evoked little of the enthusiasm on the part of business which should have been forthcoming and which the Administration expected. And the still more regrettable fact is that the mishandling of the legislation has dissipated to a considerable degree the early goodwill of business toward the White House.

Dodd vs Lattimore

The much abused name of Owen Lattimore has been subjected to bruises and buffets again recently in familiar territory – the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Senator Thomas Dodd (D, Conn.) finds it difficult to escape the conclusion that "serious significance attaches to Owen Lattimore's presence in Outer Mongolia," especially since his scholarly mission (in connection with a forthcoming book) coincided with a "campaign" for the United States to open up diplomatic contact with Ulan Bator.

Despite State Department assurances that Lattimore's trip – on a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, in association with the American Philosophical Society – was made "in a purely private capacity," the Senator was not appeased, and favors an investigation. Appended to Senator Dodd's statement of August 22 was the decade-old report of the Subcommittee's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. By attaching the IPR report to his remarks Senator Dodd has reaffirmed the Subcommittee's allegation – more than six years after our courts threw it out for a final time, and five years after the death of Joe McCarthy – that Owen Lattimore was a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" and in part responsible for the loss of China.

A possible motive for the renewed assault on Lattimore, whose pioneering scholarship for more than 30 years has given this country one of its few channels of contact with Outer Mongolia, may be to discredit the present Administration's new policy toward the strategic Sino-Soviet borderland question. In particular, the Senator and those for whom he speaks may be seeking to sensitize the issue of Mongolian membership in the UN before the business of new members comes up next month.

Whatever its precise motives, if any, the Subcommittee appears to be flagrantly abusing its investigative privilege for the purpose of harassing the Executive in the conduct of foreign policy.

Enterprise in Space

The debate over the ownership of the unborn communications satellite system continues. Thirty-five members of Congress wrote to the President on August 24 warning that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company would get "very probably a monopoly position" under the Administration policy placing the system in the hands of private enterprise – with government participation limited to the provision of ground support where necessary.

Many assume that a resource of such potential usefulness should be owned and operated by the same federal government which has already poured so much of the people's money into its development. But the problem is more complex than this. Public operation is not necessarily the best approach to the management of a technology that has the fluid and experimental character of space communications at the present time. There are reasons to believe that the practical application of this technology will be facilitated by integrating it with existing international communications systems.

When the Federal Communications Commission invited 10 US international communications concerns in the telephone and telegraph business to form a committee and determine how much capital each of them would put up to launch the proposed space communications industry, only four, according to recent press reports, have shown interest. They are troubled, among other things, by the requirements of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that the system should be inaugurated on what amounts to a crash basis, that is, "at the earliest possible time"; that global coverage should be provided "even to unprofitable areas" and that they may be called on to put up as much as $400 million. They are also bothered, in all probability, by the requirement that the participating companies shall refrain from managing the system "to the detriment of any other common carrier" of long-distance radiotelephone or TV services.

In 1960 overseas telephone calls increased 20 percent. Indeed, the growth of demand in the industry is so great that this alone could justify the outlay needed to develop a satellite communication system. Here we have a clue to the unannounced reason why the Ad-

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ministration has limited the initial participation to firms already in the business. It is they who are pressed by this demand and can be expected to contribute the risk capital needed now. And the risks are great, even when shared between government and industry. On the basis of the record fully half of all future satellite launchings will fail. Whether the rocket vehicle carrying the satellite goes the whole way up or not, the cost of shooting one is $6 million, and the cost of the communication satellite in the nose of it $3 million or more, depending on the type. The cost of a single working space satellite may well be, then, twice the sum of these figures. While theoretically, a limited service could be furnished by three satellites, if a truly global and reliable system is desired (and that is what the President asked for) as many as 50 may be required.

At the present time the working life of these satellites is unknown, which means that it is impossible to calculate the replacement factor and set up amortization schedules, as in any normal business. Further, most of the communications satellites now under development must be oriented or rotated to face the ground stations which they are to serve. This adjustment can be made by radio signals from below, or should the receiving apparatus in the satellite be locked onto a coded signal to prevent mischievous people from sending a signal that will instruct that dumb hunk of mechanism to turn the wrong way around? If so, this may introduce still more extra cost as well as an element of potential unreliability. Moreover, one can only orient communications satellites toward ground stations that already exist, that is, toward actual radio and wired telephone systems. Clearly, it will be anything but roses, roses all the way for the companies, who may be asked to install expensive ground equipment in underdeveloped countries which possess no well-developed communications network to receive input from the international satellite system. President Kennedy has conditioned private operation of the system on the provision of facilities to all countries – including the less developed.

The various national communications systems that function today are owned and managed by government departments, or government corporations or government-regulated (private) companies. They have developed agreements that have worked without a hitch through war and peace; this is one area that continues to be unaffected by politics, or even the Cold War. Management of an international space communication system could be adjusted, probably without trouble, between the parties involved in the present disagreements. But this does not dispose of the domestic hobgoblin of monopoly. For there is no escape from the fact that a small group of companies, or one supercorporation, may dominate the new development.

What we are confronted with is a clash between broad social policy and, in this case, immediate efficiency. Nobody can claim that any small or medium-sized business has an industrial research capability remotely resembling that of the Bell Laboratories, a subsidiary of AT&T. In fact, Bell is regarded as the best setup of its kind in the Western world. Out of it have come many of the basic developments that make communications satellite technology feasible: the transistor, the solar battery, the traveling wave tube and the ruby red maser. This too is where space communications satellites have been in development for a long time; as far back as 1955, John R. Pierce, now director of research at the Laboratories, published a paper in which he discussed the various types of "satellite radio repeaters" which are under consideration today. In many cases involving highly experimental technology the question appears to be not so much whether government should supplant big business, but whether government can, in fact, exercise control over big business in the public interest. Those who pose the question in traditional anti-monopoly terms should remember that it is the need to exert such control which provides the fundamental justification for big government.

Is Quadros Finished?

At this writing, the clearest indications in a confusing situation are that Janio Quadros did not expect his resignation to result, when all was said and done, in his surrendering the Presidency.

He was taking a gamble. It could well backfire as resentment mounts among the nation's leaders against what is, by conventional standards, an act of irresponsibility and demagoguery. But in my view Janio Quadros did not resign because he felt the task ahead too difficult or because, as he stated in his resignation message, he was "defeated by the forces of reaction."

In spite of recent criticisms of individual policies of his administration, Quadros at the time of his resignation unquestionably retained the overwhelming support of the majority of the people. He knows this and is counting on it. More important, he knows that those who have opposed him on the grounds of his fraternization with Cuba and the Communist-bloc nations may

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have few alternatives besides assuaging him and enticing him back to office. If Quadros has been a bitter pill on these issues, Vice President Joao Goulart is poison.

Under Brazil's peculiar system of voting separately for President and Vice President, the election of Quadros to the Presidency was accompanied by the choice of the Communist-supported Labor Party leader Goulart as Vice President. Goulart's Communist sympathies are plainly on the record, although considerable doubt exists as to whether they are to be explained in terms of firm philosophical conviction or mere political opportunism. Brazilian politicians have a habit of preaching a more radical line than they practice. Thus former President Juscelino Kubitschek, a supporter of Goulart in the present crisis, was elected with Communist support and made some fairly incendiary speeches in the campaign. His leftist leanings caused considerable worry to the State Department. But it turned out that the US had few friends as reliable as Kubitschek.

So it might be with Goulart. A wealthy land owner from Southern Brazil who rose to power as the self-styled political heir of former dictator Getulio Vargas, he is firmly linked to the ruling elite which held a monopoly of political power from the days of Vargas until the Quadros landslide. This group has strong ties to the business elements and stands to the right of Quadros. Goulart's record offers little to indicate that he is more concerned with the welfare of the working people and peasants than he is with his own political fortunes. He has a reputation as one of the most corrupt and unimaginative mountebanks in Brazilian politics.

Through a political deal with Kubitschek's Social Democrat Party, Goulart acquired control of organized labor as well as the elaborate government-controlled pension and welfare funds. He has not, however, made significant use of this power over the labor movement as political leverage for the causes of the extreme Left. Two months ago, when one of President Quadros' investigating commissions charged Goulart with corrupt practices in manipulating the pension and welfare funds, the allegation was that he had done so for his own personal and quite unideological political ends.

Should Goulart succeed in coming to power through some compromise with the Army and other strategically placed elements, he is not likely to embark on a headlong pro-Communist program. He might follow the trail of Quadros in reactivating diplomatic relations and trade with the Communist nations, but it is doubtful that he will go beyond this, for he does not enjoy Quadros' strong personal appeal or political base. His election as Vice President by a bare plurality of votes was possible only because of a split in the anti-Goulart forces. Significantly, the third party in the Vice Presidential race was a group of dissidents from Goulart's own Labor Party. Led by one of the outstanding young men of the Brazilian political scene, Fernando Ferrari, this faction rebelled at what it characterized as Goulart's dishonest and self-serving leadership. Outspokenly anti-Communist, the Ferrari group represents the most ardent authentic socialist force in Brazil today.

Even if permitted to assume the Presidency, Goulart, lacking strong popular standing and with powerful elements of the armed forces watching his every move, would not be free to follow a pro-Communist course. The danger is less that he would socialize the economy and turn closer to the Communist bloc than that he might resort to the inflationary policies followed by Juscelino Kubitschek.

But a decision on a successor to Quadros will not be easily reached and the initial decision may not endure. Brazil has become accustomed to democratic habits and her liberal leaders will not readily violate the Constitution. Goulart's followers, who can marshal all the arguments of legality, hold a majority of the Congress together with Kubitschek's Party. They have the power to stalemate any congressional action to legalize the choice of another successor, and they will not calmly allow such a rich prize to be stolen away from them. Thus the flurry of minor rioting which promptly erupted will undoubtedly increase as time goes on and as the conflicts become sharper. Moreover, though Quadros called on the country to be calm, he could hardly have had this end in view when he spoke with deliberate vagueness in his letter of renunciation of "the desires and ambitions of groups and individuals, domestic and foreign."

The United States had programmed almost $2 billion in aid and credits as a gesture of faith in Quadros. Why then, should he issue a statement which would inevitably be interpreted as an indictment of Washington? Not impossibly, he calculated that dissension would follow and that he would, in the end, profit from this politically.

In the face of growing disorder and continuing stalemate, the army and liberal leaders may have no alternative but to appeal to Quadros to reconsider his decision in the national interest. He would ultimately consent. This time, the trump card would be firmly in his hand. He would have demonstrated beyond doubt that he, and he alone, can control the discontent of the people – in blunter terms, that unless the leaders of the liberal parties want a bloody revolution on their hands, they had better learn to knuckle under to Quadros' program and stop their obstructionist tactics.

Quadros has used such a technique once before. In the midst of the campaign for the Presidency, burdened by a Vice Presidential running-mate unsatisfactory to him, he resigned his candidacy, leaving the predominantly middle-class, liberal National Democratic Union (UDN) with no one in the field to challenge the

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government-sponsored candidate, Marshall Henrique Lott. The position was untenable for the party, and Quadros well knew it. Within two days he acceded to the entreaties of the party and returned to battle, bolstered by the power to dictate his own running mate.

Undoubtedly this is what he had in mind this time. His resignation was a power play – a gamble that the army and foot-dragging liberal elements will be forced to come on bended knee to ask him to resume the Presidency. If this happens, the big question is, what would his terms be?

Quadros may have precipitated the showdown with three possible objectives – to undermine or dissolve the present, opposition-dominated Congress; to quell the recent burst of criticism against his regime's foreign policy, or possibly to eliminate Goulart from the scene. Conceivably, he may attempt to go all the way and set up a dictatorship – or to be semantically correct in Quadros' rationalizations, a "guided democracy."

Quadros has run into snowballing opposition in the Congress in his efforts to reform Brazil's economy. His effort to enact a fair, proportional income tax law, to reform the currency, to get an enforceable and functional antitrust law, to overhaul the bureaucracy, to safeguard union and social welfare funds, all have been confronted with increasing resistance. Of the 12 parties represented in Congress, the 5 that support Quadros are outnumbered 223-103 in the House of Deputies and 42-21 in the Senate. The alliance of Kubitschek's and Goulart's parties alone command a majority in both Houses with 181 Deputies and 40 Senators.

Curiously, the opposition is nominally far to the Left of Quadros. Elected by playing on nationalist and leftist sentiment, and often with Communist support, most of the congressmen are, nonetheless, closely identified with the large industrial interests. They are committed, in one way or another, to making sure that the present entrenched capitalist elements in the country don't get too hurt by their "reforms."

Quadros, whose personal incorruptibility has not been questioned, appears uncommitted to special interests. His success followed an incessant and often spectacular battle against both the Communists and the old power elite. Consequently, he has had no compunctions in pressing for reform. Land reform was in the offing, as well as curbs on the monopolistic practices of certain industries, and he had embarked on a determined effort at rooting out corruption and graft. If, as a result of this present crisis, Quadros should succeed in having Congress suspended, ruling by decree until the next general Congressional election in 1962, his task would obviously be easier.

Some of the critics are already repenting. Carlos Lacerda, a violent Communist in his youth and now the outspoken anti-Communist Governor of Guanabara (the city of Rio de Janeiro), who was one of Quadros' earliest supporters and recently the leading critic of his pro-Cuban and neutralist policies, immediately characterized Quadros' decision as "lamentable and not desired by anyone."

It is highly significant, in weighing Quadros' motives, that he chose to resign when Goulart was halfway across the world in Communist China. This allowed time to prevent any quick coup and swearing-in of Goulart, time for opinions to crystallize, time for just enough dissension to arise to suggest that Quadros was indispensable.

The events in Brazil remind one of those that brought General de Gaulle back to power. His departure on a slow boat for Europe places him high above the battle and disengages him from explanations and involvement in the increasing ferment. Certainly the Quadros strategy, should it succeed, points to a bid for power on virtually dictatorial terms. He cannot be legally reinstated to power, because he has resigned. New elections cannot be his aim because under the Constitution he is barred from succeeding himself; in addition, the highly popular former President Juscelino Kubitschek would be eligible to run. Thus if he is called back as the only one who can unite the country, he will have to exact new and unprecedented powers to meet the emergency.

Janio Quadros has long delighted in wrapping himself in a veil of mystery. Many intelligent businessmen in Brazil refused to support him in the recent election, preferring the Communist-supported Lott because, as they explained it, "Lott won't change anything or do anything spectacular for Brazil, but at least we know what to expect. Janio is a crazy man; you never know what he'll do next."

Janio may be unpredictable, but he is not crazy. At 44 he has a long political career ahead. If successful his move would do Machiavelli credit. On the other hand, he may have unwittingly done a grave misservice to his country and its friends. For if the Army can unite and succeed in keeping the country tranquil – and Goulart out – the present powers that be may feel they can get by without him. And one cannot rule out the possibility that a disunited Army leadership, faced with a solid phalanx of the majority parties in Congress in alliance with former President Kubitschek, will succumb to the succession of Goulart.

RONALD SCHEMAN

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God Was Bored

A friend, not critical, merely curious, writes that he has seen in this place recently more than one reference to Thucydides. Then in a commencement speech that Adlai Stevenson wrote for Amherst – he never delivered it because he was suddenly dispatched to South America, but it was printed – he found a pair of quotations from Thucydides; and he wonders why people have this old Greek writer on the brain these days.

What Mr. Stevenson may have had in mind is unknown to this observer of the superficial aspect of things; but if Thucydides has slipped into this page from time to time it is because his book applies to our present situation to an extent that raises the hair on the back of a thoughtful American's neck.

It is apt even in being incomplete. We do not learn from Thucydides how it all came out; for that, we must turn to Grote, or some other historian of ancient Greece. We do not know how our own very similar situation is going to turn out, and there is no Grote to inform us. If we undertake to guess on the basis of the facts in hand we find no comfort in the process.

Thucydides' theme is the Peloponnesian War in the first phase of which Athens was as triumphant as the United States was in 1945. Sparta was prostrate, but the inspired leader of Athenians, Pericles, was dead and to replace him the democracy turned to a general who by genius or luck had made a good record in the war, and was universally regarded as an honest man.

This was bumbling Nicias, who saw what ought to be done, but never had quite enough vigor and resolution to do it. Incapable of coping with Cleon, he allowed that demagogue to undermine the morale of Athens even more than McCarthy did that of America. The so-called Peace of Nicias was actually a Cold War, which drifted inevitably into a hot one because nobody knew how to organize a genuine peace.

When the hot war was launched with the Syracusan expedition, worse bungled than the anti-Castro raid on Cuba, Athens, although powerfully armed, was psychologically incapable of waging successful war. At a critical moment the one general of some real capacity, Alcibiades, was yanked out of the theater of war by the Un-Athenian Activities Committee. Since it was known of all men that anyone summoned by that outfit was already as good as hanged, Alcibiades defected to the enemy. And so it went. Nicias contrived to lose both the fleet and the army in an operation as insane as would be an American invasion of Laos.

It is about there that Thucydides quits, but Grote continues the dismal story. By frantic efforts Athens managed to raise a new army and build a new fleet, dragging out the war for years. She even recalled Alcibiades, who did brilliant work for awhile. But it was all to no avail. Cleon had done his work too well and the city was morally disarmed. There was no such thing as confidence and trust in Athens. Everybody was suspected as a traitor, and if a man had lived an honorable and useful life for many years, that only showed what a shrewd deceiver he was. Athens' state of mind was that of the John Birch Society, and ruin was the inevitable result.

True, her conquerors profited little. Sparta was so weakened by the 27 years' struggle that she was easily smashed by Thebes; and presently both were overwhelmed by Macedon – all the while lurking in the background, the Red China of the ancient world.

Is it necessary to draw a diagram to show why Thucydides is horrifying reading for a modern American? Athens, the one great democracy of the ancient world, was a suicide, driven to self-destruction by fear. Yet she had faced and beaten the overwhelming power of Persia. She had defeated Sparta. She had won more small wars than the United States won against the Indians. She had been unchallenged mistress of the sea, her land forces were formidable.

But she died of fear – not of fear of the Persian, or of the Spartan, or of any barbarian. It was fear of the Athenian. Even as the John Birchites, taking their cue from McCarthy, howl that the real enemy is the enemy within, so Cleon howled against any man of real ability in Athens until it came to pass that the only reward for conspicuous public service was to be regarded as a subversive character. Only the stupid were beyond suspicion, only the dull could be entrusted with command.

Naturally the story chills any American who lived through the McCarthy affliction and who had hoped that McCarthyism died with its originator, but who now finds it revived in a more pestilential form under the name of a brainless character who got himself shot for no purpose at all. Napoleon collapsed, said Victor Hugo, because "God was bored by him." But a nation afraid of itself is a greater bore even then Napoleon.

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The New-Style Boss

by Blanche Blank

A decade and a half have passed since Fiorello La-Guardia confidently asserted: "Within the next 10 years the political boss will be but a sad memory." As recently as last January, Leo Egan of *The New York Times* wrote an article entitled: "The Political Boss, Going, Going——." It concerned "the changes that are making the boss, old-style or new, a thing of the past." But New York City is voting in a mayoralty primary this week and "bossism" is still the cry – at least of the Republicans and the "reform" groups behind Mayor Wagner. The fight has been billed as a final push against an already anachronistic enemy–Boss De Sapio.

I wonder. Destroying a candidate or a man-behind-the-candidate is not the same as the demise of an institution. But I would go further than this: Bossism may actually be nourished by urbanization, governmental complexity, legal vacuums, political alienation, and the ubiquitous human drive for power.

Consider the *illusory* changes that so many feel have led to the end of the boss-machine era:

The Development of the Social Welfare State. There is a popular idea that old-age assistance, unemployment insurance, welfare payments, hospital clinics, veterans' benefits, and other social services have taken the candy away from the tempter. Gone the day of the Christmas turkey! This is true, but enter the day of the fine print, the triplicate form, the long queue, the red tape and the surly official. The distribution of food and money is replaced by the distribution of advice and service. With more and more prizes in the hands of more and more self-contained bureaucracies, the need for an informed broker (the boss) increases. Take as an example a veteran who buys a home in New York State. He is entitled to reduce his assessed valuation for tax purposes by the amount of "eligible" funds used for his purchase. But to reap this yearly windfall he must know of it and have the literacy and determination to follow through. This entails filing forms and proofs of his bonus, mustering-out pay, insurance dividends and liability compensation. The directions are difficult even for a PhD. But an experienced boss who can take the citizen by the hand and guide him to something of value has something more than turkeys to offer.

In providing welfare services, the government (though destroying a few profitable practices for old-timers of *The Last Hurrah* vintage) introduces a whole new frontier for new-style bosses. In New York City there are more than 100 business licenses and countless performance standards required for landlords and tenants set up by housing, health and sanitary codes. A boss who has mastered the garbage removal, painting and fire requirements can attempt to influence the degree of enforcement in favor of his constituents. He can also harass his enemies. He can put his encyclopedia of who gets what, when and how at the disposal of the right people at the right time.

Reforms in Election Procedures. Every reform of the nomination and election process brings with it the promise of "death to the machine!" Yet each new elaboration simply demonstrates the machine's capacity for survival. The direct primary is the latest apotheosis of reform. It is supplanting the caucus and convention systems in an effort to wipe out bossism. But closer observation reveals that the boss still operates – by designating the very names that appear on the primary ballot. Jasper McLevy, the late Mayor of Bridgeport who claimed to have spent a lifetime fighting political machines, warned Connecticut in 1955 that its then newly-proposed primary law might actually increase the power of the bosses. It is too soon to evaluate his prediction; but in Hartford where non-partisan primaries had been previously introduced in an effort to thwart machine politics, the Democrats simply adopted the frustrating practice of endorsing the top six vote-getters of the party as their candidates.

Massachusetts recently reverted to a "pre-primary convention." In 1959, California repealed its "cross-filing" primary after quite general public concession that its chief result was to obscure issues. (It had been introduced in 1913 by Governor Hiram Johnson's Progressive Republicans in a crusade to defeat entrenched political machines.)

The most recent and ironic example of reform backfiring occurred when Boss De Sapio won the 1959 *direct primary* contest for the district leadership. Post-election analysis indicates that he most probably would have lost had the old system of *indirect* elections been used. But just a few years before, political reformers had wrung from the boss himself a supposed new weapon in the arsenal of insurgency – direct primary

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elections of District Leaders in Manhattan.

The 50 or so election reforms instituted in Chicago over the last decade have certainly failed to oust its machine. And New York's excessive legalism concerning designating petitions (originally designed to prevent wholesale forgeries by the machine) has now become the bulwark of the machine. A dozen or more recent insurgent battles have been made difficult or impossible by requirements such as: petitions must appear on sheets of the prescribed shade of green; only black ink (no ballpoints); no abbreviations in date or address; no use of titles such as Mr. or Dr.; married women must use given first names; signatures must be identical with those on enrollment lists.

It has also been thought that the rapid extension of the merit system would wreck the bosses' ability to pay off in jobs. But while there may be a dent in the old patronage pot, it still carries more than enough meat and gravy to go around. To begin with, less than half of our states or smaller municipalities have anything that could reasonably be described as substantial merit coverage. In cities over 100,000 where the most dramatic merit reforms have occurred there are still significant gaps. In New York City alone the bench provides more than 300 seats in which political appetite, directly or indirectly, is satisfied. These judges in turn control close to 500 posts with salaries from $4,000 to $15,000 per year. Over one-third of Mayor Wagner's cabinet appointees have been active supporters.

Furthermore, exam publicity, eligibility requirements, grades, classification schedules, rating systems, salary and retirement rules, and the "rule of three" selection process are all useful to the boss. The personnel procedures that merit systems administer can all be manipulated. My point is that in each process – classifying a set of positions into a certain grade level, or even classifying them as competitive – there are individuals who will benefit or lose by the decision made. And the decision is made by a commission that is, after all, politically appointed (even if bipartisan). Furthermore, even when the decision is made by an administrative official who is himself a merit appointee, it is naïve to assume that he cannot be reached by the possibility of political influence. A salary raise, as well as retirement benefits, and classification acts are all *legislated* by groups who have political commitments.

The Reduction of Immigration. Immigration has been greatly curtailed, but the language and institutional ignorance that fed the immigrant into the machine has not been vastly reduced. In Manhattan alone, where Tammany is supposedly destined for oblivion, the population is about 17 percent Puerto Rican. Here is a *citizen* group with an alien language and culture – as much a prey to bossism as any old-time immigrant cluster. Any minority group that is socially or educationally underprivileged is likely to make up a hard core of machine support in certain politically important quarters. In ward 2 of Chicago's Negro-populated south side, boss William L. Dawson has lost little of his hold.

With the end of Prohibition it was thought that the era of free-wheeling gangsterism – with political machine connections – had died. Did it? In 1951, Sen. Estes Kefauver wrote: "A nationwide crime syndicate does exist in the US despite the protestations of a strangely assorted company of criminals, self-serving politicians . . . and others . . . that there is no such combine." In 1960, we had further evidence of this at the Appalachian gangster conclave. Testimony taken over the years by the Senate Crime Investigating Committee is replete with reference to existing connections between political bosses and the underworld. In 1954, Albert Patterson, a candidate for State Attorney-General was shot to death in Phoenix City, Alabama, for promising to clean up politico-gangster corruption. While few political bosses today are out and out gangsters in the style of Kansas City's late Binaggio, many of them keep their lines of communication open.

Narcotics, gambling, non-taxed liquor and protection rackets have supplanted the old-time bootlegging.

Law and tradition dictate that much of the highly-skilled political work performed by the machine be *unpaid.* Even the most ardent reformer soon learns the need for patronage of one kind or another. Thus the spoils system. Witness the recent judicious distribution of federal plums for deserving "insurgents" in New York. Yesterday's reformer becomes today's regular. The "reform" title hangs precariously indeed over some of Manhattan's current insurgent groups.

Finally, most people merely wish to be left alone. They can be counted on to rise only sporadically. This will undoubtedly be heightened by the trend toward urbanization, suburbanization, mechanization and bureaucratization. More and more of the public masks its frustration by withdrawing to manageable private concerns. The many thus continue to be ruled by the few. This is proving true in high literacy, high income suburbs like Westchester, where Republican boss Michalean reigns undisturbed; as well as in low income, low literacy areas such as Adam Clayton Powell's Harlem. On the one end the political ineffectiveness of the mass electorate may stem from social and geographic mobility; and on the other end from poverty and ignorance. In either situation, the boss does not generally have to persuade large numbers of fickle people. He needs only to manipulate his reliable regulars.

In short, the boss will continue to thrive as a power broker among the multitude of interest groups. The complexity of social benefit formulas, increasing urbanization, growing political alienation and an abiding human need for power and reward – these will prove the perennial allies of the "new bosses."

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Workers and Philanthropists

by Theodor Schuchat

As the Senate neared the end of its recent struggle over the minimum wage bill, Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R, Neb.) rose to offer yet another amendment. "My purpose," he said, "is to exempt from the provisions of the wage and hour law the religious and charitable institutions which are exempt from taxation. . . . There are many splendid organizations which provide some employment and some income for people who would otherwise not have any. . . . I think of those charitable enterprises which seek to hold down their labor costs in order that their funds may reach more needy people. Many employees serve as a labor of love, as a matter of dedication, yet they must receive and they do receive some wages. . . ."

The Senator's rhetoric obscured rather then elucidated the fact that nearly all non-profit organizations were already exempt from the Fair Labor Standards Act, either as retail or service establishments or as not being engaged in interstate commerce. The real point of his amendment was to remove from the Act's protective coverage some 38,000 workers in non-profit organizations of a business nature, chiefly publishing enterprises. The defeat of his amendment, a minor skirmish in the battle that raged in Congress this spring, called attention nevertheless to a sizable group of workers still omitted from the body of social legislation so resoundingly celebrated each Labor Day by politicians and trade union leaders alike. Employees of churches, private schools and colleges, voluntary hospitals, foundations and non-profit social welfare organizations are generally outside the beneficence of the minimum wage law, the unemployment insurance program and the labor relations statutes. Many employees of non-profit organizations lack even the protection of social security or workmen's compensation.

Because they are exempt from these laws and the statistical fact-finding they engender, no one can say with certainty how many are employed by non-profit organizations. The total is somewhere between 1.5 and 2 million, however, which makes this disadvantaged group of workers twice as numerous as the migrant agricultural workers whose plight is rightfully deplored on television and from the pulpit. It is ironic indeed that churches and social welfare organizations have been urging for migrants legal protections and benefits which they deny to their own employees.

Hospitals and clinics employ about half those who work for non-profit organizations. Schools and colleges hire one-fifth of the workers in this group, and churches and assorted charities each account for one-tenth of the non-profit employment. Taken together, then, these payrolls include 90 percent of the employees of non-profit organizations.

It must not be supposed that most of these workers are technicians or professionals. In hospitals, for example, the kitchen and custodial workers, floor maids and the like compose half the work force. In universities, too, there are meals and beds to be made, clothes to be laundered and floors to be waxed.

There is, moreover, a greater gulf between management and labor in the non-profit enterprise than in the business world. Eleemosynary institutions are run by physicians, educators, ministers or social workers – individuals specifically trained to know what's best and to tell the laity authoritatively and decisively, albeit paternally. And behind the professionals sit boards which are necessarily solicitous of the large contributor.

"Why can't these people make some sacrifices, too?" implored an Inland Steel Company executive when the employees of the Chicago hospital whose board he graced went out on strike. "I'm giving 30 hours a week to the affairs of this hospital, but I'm not griping about it – it's for a good cause."

"In a way, hospital employees are special," the Building Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, admits in an organizing leaflet. "They like to help sick and disabled people. Their help, however, is not supposed to be financial! . . . Yes, you fork over part of each pay to help run the hospital. Can you afford it?"

The latest Bureau of Labor Statistics study of hospital employment suggests that these workers can ill afford their involuntary philanthropy. Maids in private hospitals average 85 cents an hour in Baltimore, $1.14 in Chicago and $1.17 in New York City. General duty nurses in the same institutions averaged only $73 weekly in Baltimore, $85 in Chicago and $81 in New York. The free meals, room and laundering of uniforms that are popularly believed to be the invariable perquisites of a hospital job "were considerably less prevalent in 1960 than in 1956-57 when the Bureau conducted a similar study." Only a handful of the hospital workers studied in 15 cities received rent-free quarters.

Voluntary hospitals, to be sure, are in a relentless

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cost-price squeeze, wages are some 70 percent of their costs and extensive automation seems out of the question. But the devices they employ to control their wage bill are illogical or self-defeating. Most hospital boards and administrators resist unionization, for example, with the zeal of a Girdler or Kohler. Yet where collective bargaining is now the normal pattern, as in San Francisco or Minneapolis, hospitals say staffs are more productive, easier to hire and supervise.

Despite such evidence, however, Congress has steadfastly refused to extend to hospital employees – or to employees of other non-profit groups – legal protection in the exercise of the rights guaranteed most other workers by the National Labor Relations Act. And of the 13 state labor laws, three exempt all non-profit organizations, one exempts colleges and hospitals and two exempt hospitals. Not surprisingly, only about 200 of our 5,000 private hospitals have union contracts.

Curiously, in the hospital field, as in no other, the cloak of exemption somehow covers both non-profit and proprietary (*i.e.*, profit-seeking) institutions. The National Labor Relations Board has declined to assert jurisdiction over proprietary hospitals except those in the District of Columbia or affecting national defense. Both non-profit and proprietary hospitals are unaccountably outside the federal minimum wage law, as well as the Taft-Hartley Act. An effort this year to amend the minimum wage statute to include profit-making hospitals grossing more than $1 million annually – a reform that would have affected less than 40 institutions – got no further than the Subcommittee stage of the legislative process. The American Medical Association lobbied the proposal to a quick death at the hands of Sen. Jennings Randolph (D, W.Va.)

Most non-profit organizations, even the hard-pressed hospitals, give their employees vacations with pay and social security coverage, neither of which are required by law. But, almost without exception, non-profit employers resist legislation that would extend unemployment compensation, though unemployment insurance would cost far less than social security or vacation pay.

One argument frequently advanced is that non-profit organizations do not contribute to unemployment; to the contrary, they generally have staff shortages and unfilled jobs. The Department of Labor has found, however, that unemployment rates among workers for non-profit organizations, though low, are not insignificant; they are comparable with unemployment rates among workers in financial, real estate and insurance firms.

In 44 states, non-profit employers may elect coverage under the federal-state unemployment compensation program, but few have done so. In Alabama, Massachusetts and New York, however, non-profit employers may not purchase this protection for their employees, no matter how ardently they may profess their paternalism. The latter two states, of course, are the seat of many of the more puissant universities, foundations and social welfare organizations.

Alaska, Colorado and Hawaii, on the other hand, require unemployment insurance of non-profit employers, and the voluntarism that characterizes our society has not thereby been adversely affected. Hospital deficits are no larger and Community Chest contributions are no smaller in these states than elsewhere.

The situation in "sheltered workshops" presents peculiarly disquieting problems. These are non-profit organizations established to provide employment and various medical, educational and social services for persons who are not able to work in private industry. The usual objective of sheltered employment is to rehabilitate the worker to permit him to re-enter the regular labor force. Expansion of the federal-state vocational rehabilitation program in recent years has virtually doubled the number of sheltered workshops; there are now around 500 across the country with about 30,000 patient-employees.

Labor unions and others have been understandably concerned lest sheltered workshops undercut competitive industry. The minimum wage law authorizes the Secretary of Labor to permit wages below the minimum to be paid to those whose earning capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury. For each sheltered workshop, the Secretary specifies a special minimum wage rate, which is frequently as low as 25 cents or even 10 cents per hour. The workshop managers then decide what wage at or above this minimum should be paid each disabled worker, depending upon his progress toward full rehabilitation.

"This procedure for sub-minimum rates in workshops, while commendably flexible, also obviously permits ready abuse at the expense of handicapped workers, particularly in the absence of a vigorous investigation and enforcement program," was the restrained comment recently of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

To its credit, the Eisenhower Administration proposed to extend unemployment insurance to non-profit organizations. "These organizations, whose purposes are directed to high goals of human betterment should set the same high standards for the welfare of their own workers," argued Newell Brown, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor who was especially active in this cause. The new Administration reiterated the recommendation that employees of non-profit organizations receive some protection against involuntary unemployment, but the American Hospital Association once again led the successful fight this year against the President's proposal. Only the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Houses backed the Administration in the crucial testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee. Church and social welfare groups were in general silent.

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In the Hands of the Enemy

by Paul Lauter

"Lonesome, Joe?" Tokyo Rose never crooned these words to Korean POW's, but her question more than ever struck at the primary condition of the American soldier. Lonely among his crowd of buddies, he became an open target for psychological subversion when that loneliness was played upon by skilled prison-camp interrogators bearing friendship.

We all have read about the techniques and effects of Chinese "brain-washers"

Night
by Francis Pollini
(Houghton, Mifflin; $3.95)

and have heard the explanations of the reporters and social scientists of why "21 Stayed." What Francis Pollini's novel *Night* attempts is a dramatization of the plight of typical GI prisoners faced with new and frightening psychological pressures. Pollini's desire to picture a representative group leads him to use stereotypes of officers, old soldiers, and recruits; he employs a good deal of melodramatic "her face was before him" and "he was falling into the dark tunnel" reverie; and his symbols work Freud in an often obvious fashion. For all that *Night* is flawed, erratic, perhaps immature in technique, it nonetheless remains chilling and compelling both for what it brings us to see in the POW camp and what it implies about life outside.

Pollini shows how the Chinese manipulated all aspects of camp life to exaggerate even further the men's all-too-normal isolation from each other. Units were broken up, officers separated from men and their authority carefully undermined, spy systems established to break down whatever remained of mutual trust. And there was always the threat of solitary in "the Hole." But the job of separating men from one another was not difficult, for the captors could always depend upon the fact that most Americans (as Theodore Parker pointed out over 100 years ago) reject a theory of democracy whose slogan might be "You are as good as I, and let us help one another," adopting instead an attitude expressed by "I am as good as you, so get out of my way."

Divided, most of the men were easily controlled; but control was only the first objective. The primary purpose of the captors was to cut men off from their traditional, inner sources of value and concern and thus open them to a new Communist set. Again most prisoners could provide little resistance, for, having few if any inner resources, they were only too glad to become compliant on the off chance of better treatment or just for something to occupy their empty lives. (A depressing story related in an early tract against POW treatment tells how the news of Li'l Abner's marriage to Daisy Mae became the central topic of discussion for weeks.) Instructors concentrated on often real, depression-born discontent with Stateside conditions and utilized the widespread ignorance of Korean – and American – realities to grind slogans and new stock responses into minds innocent of information, idea, or, really, interest. "Students" were induced to inform against laggards as the men learned, practiced, and finally began to demand "rectification":

"You better confess, you bastard!" Minichello said.

A chorus, suddenly, "Confess!"

Wakefield sighed, humbly, "I Confess to givin my Chief here a hard time, and I'm a first-class bastard for it, and I recognize my error and weakness, hangovers from the days

Dream of the Marching Men

Then in the mirror's backward land they leap.
Bright day. The highway's double lanes uncoil
their strands of light, and morning vaults for noon;
but still they crowd, untired, in my eyes.

Only the first have faces. One is blank
from some disease of black, and one pockmarked
with scabs of bitterness, or sweat, or tears.
The rest flow back in undiscovered miles.

Erratic as a bat, the land takes wing;
but bends do not deceive them, or the hills
hold back their marching feet. In blurs of speed
the tree-tops meet above me, furrowed walls
of earth fold up, and I descend in fear
into the tunneled world.

Once porridge boiled
out of an empty bowl and drowned a land
in someone's children's book.

What childish dream –
that I should lie five fathoms deep in men.

PAUL PETRIE

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when I was nothin but Capitalist Flotsam."

Only too readily the pack turned in violence against those who, like Pollini's hero, Marty Landi, resisted the Chinese prerequisite for building a "New Life": public self-criticism and correction. Pollini's picture of this mass psychology at work is appalling.

Marty is a man of intelligence and devotion, anchored to the values symbolized by his mother (in good American fashion). But subjected to physical torment and mental disorientation, placed in situations which compromise his position with his fellow hold-outs, the normal surfaces which in all men mask fears and anxieties are worn away, and he finds himself haunted by hatred and failures present and past. In the most brilliant parts of the novel we listen from within Marty's mind as his interrogator, Ching, the only man with whom he can make any really human contact, converts their dissentious relationships into an epitome of all Marty's human intercourse. Exploiting Marty's aggressiveness, his anxiety and guilt over his mother's suicide and his comrades' suffering, Ching works like a demon psychoanalyst into the dark night of Marty's mind to grasp there the memories and delusions which support his resistance.

But Ching is not simply a Terry-and-the-Pirates-Yellow-Devil. American-educated, sensitive and intelligent, in some ways Pollini's most interesting character, he speaks searing and cogent Marxist criticisms of American culture. And it is not in cynicism, if by rote, that he presents his rationale for the camp schools, the "rectification," even the brutality:

> "Listen, there is absolutely nothing inside them worthwhile – shallow, hollow, infantile, that's it. We teach them about Life. It is our duty. Those who know about Life must teach those who don't. Otherwise, all is lost. We return to barbarism. We decay. Is that not happening to your country today? Your country, the world, will be grateful to us one day.... And if we can reach just these few, just these!"

Before the brutal devotion and persistence of such minds, the common citizen-soldier out for the cushiest deal quickly folds into dull submissiveness, and even the sensible, upright man, failing to escape into a safe but dead past, surrenders his future. Only the traditional warrior-type, the old army sergeant, holds out. He, Phillips, sees that the front extends into the camp and persists in his nighttime war against "The Enemy." He senses as his mission using his words and fists to keep the "progressives" straight, creeping through the bitter winter storm to murder their leader and execute vengeance upon some who have cast dying comrades out into the snow. Phillips thus becomes a kind of hero; indeed, he would seem to be the ideal product of the old army discipline so extolled by the pseudonymous Col. Brown in Eugene Kinkead's study of the Korean POW's. For he retains order, vigor, a form of Spartan comradeship. He never questions first principles – be an American (as the army defines him), honor your uniform – devoting himself to performing what his training has determined must be performed. But in so doing he also becomes a kind of madman. For he cannot escape the monomaniacal, blind, hateful responses of war, the stereotypes that convert men into "The Enemy" or the "Gooks." He establishes himself as judge and executioner not only of those weaker who have submitted to their captors, but also of his comrades implicated by their silence in his furious vengeance. He exults in his violence, like those men described in a book from which he is partly modelled – Sgt. Lloyd W. Pate's *Reactionary* – who glory in their ability to bump their captors off the precipitous mountain paths en route to camp. In his narrowness and brutality he thus becomes a force as destructive to humanity as the very "Enemy" he combats. Between these cruel forces men like Marty Landi are crushed, betrayed by their world, by their friends, finally by life itself.

This, finally, is the terrible dilemma Pollini poses: can there be in a world of total war a middle ground between extremes willing to employ any means to achieve their unquestioned goals. And it is the dilemma that all of us who would, as Albert Schweitzer put it, "leave folly," "face reality," and live free must encounter in whatever prison-world we inhabit.

Society's Impact on Science

by Asher Brynes

Last year the physicists at the National Laboratory in Brookhaven invited a medical biologist to lecture to them. What they seem to have had in mind was one of those inter-disciplinary exercises in which researchers in various areas of specialization meet to talk about science in general, or if they are in the same specialty, to hear it discussed by a senior scholar or investigator in another field. This time they asked Dr. Rene Dubos, an eminent medical biologist, to discuss "the import of science on society." What he thereupon produced was something quite unusual.

The Dreams of Reason
by Rene Dubos
(Columbia; $5)

Dr. Dubos turned his mandate around and elected to speak about the influence of society on science and this step brought him, inevitably, to a consideration of its limitations. The most striking things he has to say are in his chapter (or lecture) on medical utopias, which is only 35 pages long. It will set any reader's mind spinning with new facts and old notions. "Who could have dreamed a generation ago," says Dr. Dubos, "that hypervitaminoses (illness caused by overdosages of vitamins) would become a common form of nutritional disease in the Western world; that the cigarette industry, air pollutants, and the use of radiations would be held responsible for the increase in certain types of cancer... that advances in chemotherapy and other therapeutic procedures would create a new staphylococcus pathology; that alcoholics and patients with various

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forms of iatrogenic [literally: doctor-created] diseases would occupy such a large number of beds in the modern hospital?"

About two centuries ago the French Encyclopedists launched the millennial idea that all medical problems would one day be solved by science, and the most enthusiastic visionary among them, the mathematician Condorcet, foresaw a world that would be both rational and free from disease. Coming down to our own time Dr. Dubos cites a Commissioner of Health of the State of New York who adopted for his Department the motto that "Public Health Is Purchasable. Within Natural Limitations Any Community Can Determine Its Own Death Rate." The same faith was repeatedly expressed on the tenth anniversary of the World Health Organization in 1958, when a medical member of the group asserted that "man seems to have found out how to make his dreams of paradise on earth come true" through techniques based on scientific knowledge. Dr. Dubos says it's not so. There is overwhelming evidence that the changing forms of disease are influenced by factors which are not controllable medically or socially today *and which, indeed, may never be controlled.*

Each civilization creates its own diseases, for "while methods of control can and will be found for any given pathological state, we can take it for granted that disease will change its manifestations according to social circumstances." Medical science, continues Dr. Dubos, provides methods of control for the problems inherited from past generations, but it cannot cope with the problems of tomorrow because it does not know what they will be. "Physicians and public health officials, like soldiers, are always equipped to fight the last war."

But it is not only the scientists and the physicians who must develop the ability to tackle an unending series of new problems. This is a burden that is placed on all of us, and indeed the maintenance of a capacity to deal with them is itself a requisite for the health of the human organism. "A certain amount of stress, strain, and risk seems essential to the full development of the individual . . . physiologists are beginning to rediscover that too low a level of sensory stimulation may lead to psychotic disorders." Recent studies of established strains of laboratory animals indicates that the glands most involved in reactions to stress and fatigue have become smaller and less effective; that the thyroid, which helps to regulate metabolism, and thus activity, has become less active; that the sex organs develop earlier and function more vigorously; and that the brain not only shrinks in weight but the sheltered animals are increasingly subject to fits of a type which indicate that the brain has likewise become less effective. Since most of these changes are the expression of mutations selected by life in the laboratory, they appear to indicate that sheltered human societies made up, as Dr. Dubos puts it, of "well-domesticated citizens, comfort-loving and submissive, may not be the ones most likely to survive."

The point is reinforced by observation of the specialized germ-free animals raised in laboratories for controlled experiments. These have been subjected to an amount of medical attention and hygiene that is still unavailable to human beings, for they are raised in environments completely free of detectable microorganisms. However, while they are capable of growing to normal size and of reproducing themselves for several generations, they are highly susceptible to infections of the most common types, which would be innocuous to animals raised in normally exposed conditions. Further examination shows that they are organically deficient (they have less lymphoid tissue and gamma globulin).

Since we cannot, says Dr. Dubos, create for our descendants a world free of stresses, we should consider that "the best thing we can do for them, perhaps the only thing worth doing, is to create an atmosphere in which they will develop such nonspecialized adaptive powers that they can respond to . . . new and unexpected threats for which they cannot be specifically prepared." Consequently, it is both meaningless and dangerous to insist that science can solve the problems of health. Freedom from disease cannot be bought from physicians or drugstores. Dr. Dubos concludes with a noble phrase from Goethe: "What you have inherited from your father, you must earn again or it will not be yours." A splendid example of the interaction of humanism and science, which offers us civilization in place of redemption, and an endless progress in place of one apocalyptic breakthrough into a land of super-humanity.

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Paul Lauter *is on the English faculty of Hobart and William Smith Colleges.* Paul Petrie, *who teaches at the University of Rhode Island, has just completed a new book of poems.*

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MOVIES

International Battles of the Sexes

The Mark, an Anglo-American production set in England, is one of the few good fiction films in the psychiatric field since G. W. Pabst's pioneer *Secrets of a Soul* (1926).

In a Midlands city a young Canadian has been paroled from prison after serving three years. A decent job has been arranged for him by the prison psychiatrist who now is in this city

The Mark (Continental)
A Cold Wind in August (United Artists)
Girl With a Suitcase (Ellis)

and to whom the parolee must report regularly. Under the exacting but benevolent supervision of his boss and with the help of the boss's secretary, the man prospers in his job fairly quickly, and fairly slowly he re-develops social roots. Through his interviews with his doctor and through flashbacks that flourish from them, we learn that the cause of his legal trouble was a psychological illness. But it is only after the man has won us by his lonely resolution, by the honesty of his affection for the widowed secretary, by his gratitude and resentment towards the psychiatrist, only after we are thoroughly meshed with the man's views and hopes, that we learn what his crime was: abduction of a little girl with intent to rape.

It is at this moment that the picture triumphs; because, instead of headline-heated revulsion, we feel a chilling surge of empathy with the man. Artists have known for centuries that every man contains all men, that only the proportions vary, and lately psychologists have been finding it out, too. This film does its work so well that the viewer never thinks of the criminal as unhuman; and – what is equally important and much more piercing – he recognizes the sexual rogue (however minuscule) in himself. That is perhaps the true, non-Olympian definition of compassion. The rest of the film never lags, but that moment is its strongest point.

The Mark could easily have been a strained grab at a lurid psychological case – sensationalism under a transparent mask of social significance. Or it could have been merely a propaganda picture for the understanding of psychopaths and psychopathy. But it is a moving film about a human being, and thus the only useful propaganda.

Sidney Buchman was the co-producer and co-author of the screenplay based on a novel by Charles Israel. The script has been made with craft and comprehension. There are some bulgy plot contrivances and the psychiatry scenes are unavoidably a bit glib; but the film is peopled with well-rounded characters, and if the scientific side is distilled, it seems (to this layman) satisfactorily symbolic. The ending is properly inconclusive. The widow *doesn't* know whether she can conquer her fear of letting this man whom she loves live with her nine-year-old daughter. The man *isn't* sure that his second start at a new life won't be ruined by a muck-raking newspaper. The inconclusiveness is, in itself, more satisfying than a Technicolor fade-out.

As the parolee Stuart Whitman gets the chance to use the gifts he has shown fitfully in inferior films. He gives a slightly clumsy but solid, saturnine performance. Donald Wolfit, the boss, does more or less what he did in *Room at the Top* sans Lancashire accent, and fills the screen with his presence. Brenda de Banzie, an actress as sound as seasoned oak, is the man's landlady, and Maurice Denham is flawless as her respectable, dirty-minded husband. To the ungrateful part of the boss's displaced favorite, Paul Rogers lends a freshening touch.

Readers who share my tastes in acting may now prepare to gasp. As the psychiatrist, with lilting Irish accent and Brendan Behan curls, Rod Steiger is excellent: unmannered, concentrated on the part instead of on himself, and forceful. And – that we should all have lived to see the day! – so is Maria Schell. As the young widow, she gives us the quietly charming, sensitive woman of whom she has previously given only whipped-cream caricatures.

None of this could have happened by accident. The explanation must be in the talent of Guy Green, the director who made *The Angry Silence*, who has virtuosity in film technique plus extraordinary competence with actors. With these two pictures Green puts himself in the van of contemporary directors of social drama, and there seems no reason why he should not also excel in other kinds of films. Here with a sound script as a base, he has made an intelligent and stirring film *à thèse*.

Two current films, American and Italian, deal with the same subject: an encounter between a worldly woman and an innocent boy. Those who, like myself, hate being forced into ostensible foreign-film snobbery will be glad to discover that the American film is the better of the two. Gather ye chauvinism while ye may.

A Cold Wind in August, written by

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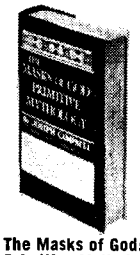

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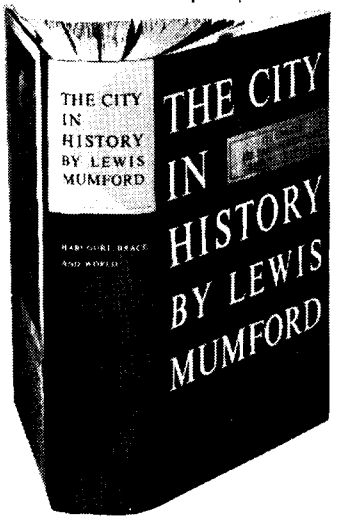

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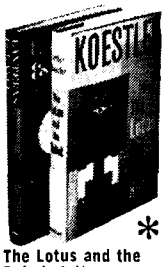

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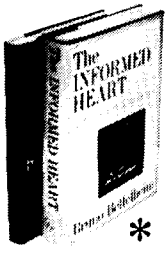

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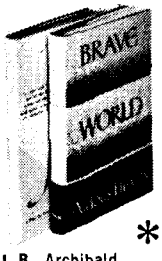

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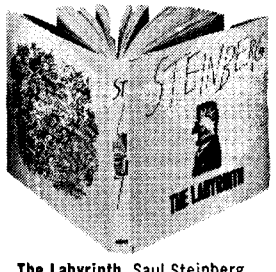

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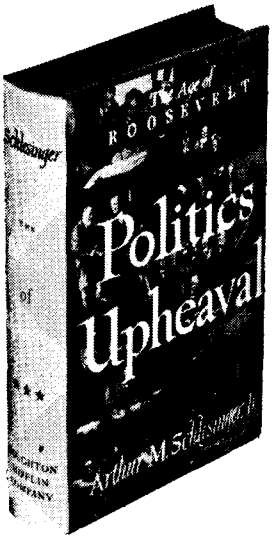

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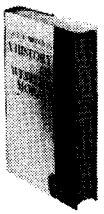

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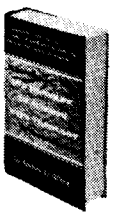

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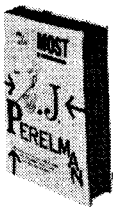

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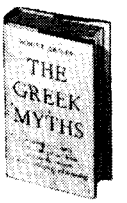

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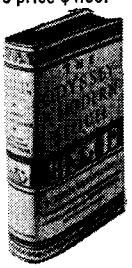

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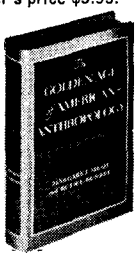

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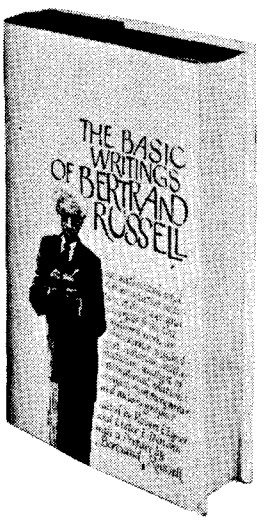

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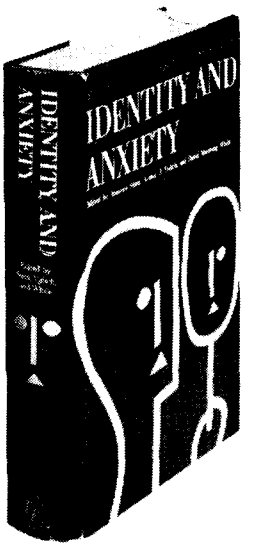

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Burton Wohl from his own novel, is based on a gimmicky idea: an affair between a stripteaser and her janitor's 17-year-old son. The film never completely persuades us that it instrinsically *had* to be made, but it is literally – surprisingly good. Wohl's script is stenographically tough and truthfully characterized. The woman seduces the boy out of bored devilment, then finds herself infatuated; she has lived in a world of make-believe sex on stage and in bed, and this boy is inept but real. The boy, who has talked big about sex with his friends, is wide-eyed and romantic the first time it happens to him. The parting is inevitable and it is inevitably painful – for the woman.

Lola Albright, as the stripper, gives a well-understood, affectingly hungry performance. The boy, Scott Marlowe, simply is right physically and personally, and is well-used by the director. He is Alexander Singer, of whom I have never heard. In this short piece of *verismo*, he displays teachnical skill and a sense of the quintessence of relationships. His film is fast without being merely zippy, perceptive without being arty, and some of the scenes are genuinely erotic. It is surely superfluous to add that this does not mean the erotic scenes are obscene.

One niggling point. The place is said to be Manhattan, but the exteriors do not look it.

It now seems almost essential for a foreign film to win a festival prize in order to pass the U.S. Customs, and *Girl With A Suitcase* arrives prize in hand. But, as in so many cases, it guarantees nothing. This film deals with a girl who is taken up and abandoned by a rich young man, who is then pitied and soon worshipped by his 16-year-old brother. Valerio Zurlini, the director, has evidently seen much Antononi and understood little. He has come away believing that distention and slowness equal mood and profundity. Without Antonioni's intellectual base and finely tuned sensibilities, his approach to films can be fatal, as it is here to Zurlini. Rarely has so little been stretched so long.

Claudia Cardinale is seen as the girl – "seen" because there is reason to assume that her dialogue, as well as her singing, is dubbed by another. She does not seem worth the trouble, either as actress or personality. Italian producers are ungrooming her to be another Bardot, but she has only the elemental qualifications. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

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ART

Commerce and Culture: The Free Load

That time of year right now you may behold when nation-wide plans for the annual American alliance for progress between art and industry are being "finalized," a word deriving from Simonize and carrying the same suggestion of a high gloss and the look of a solid surface. If you think of this alliance at all, you probably think of it either in terms of the one or two national events which, through local branches of the sponsoring product, manage to achieve saturation publicity, or in terms of the local or regional version you may have run into. Actually, it goes on all over the country. The local or regional version is much more typical than the national. There are hundreds of these enterprises in entrepreneurial patronage. Most are characterized by the rich, namely manufacturers, merchants, bankers, advertising agencies and publishers, free loading on the poor, namely artists. It's a sort of Robin Hood in reverse.

Here, roughly, is the story that – having been finalized –will be coming out soon in your local paper:

"John P. de' Medici, area subdivider, known to the gang at the Junior Chamber of Commerce as 'Il Magnifico', has announced plans for a competition for a heroic sized sculpture group to decorate the entrance to his latest housing development, Louvre Homes. A jury of museum directors from the nation's largest museums has been selected and the editor of one of the world's leading art journals has been retained as counsellor. Entries, one fourth of scale, will be exhibited in the model Louvre Home for one month before the jury chooses the winner. The winning sculptor will be given a cash prize of $500 payable on delivery of the completed, full-size work. Honorable mentions will be given to ten competing artists, whose models will become the property of Louvre Homes and will be used to decorate

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and improve the landscape.

"Asked for a statement, de' Medici replied with 3,000 words on the responsibility of free enterprise to support culture in the community."

The full statement, as often as not, is reprinted as an advertisement in a special tabloid section the paper gets out on Louvre Homes.

An accurate cost accounting of the project would note the following items: De' Medici's advertising agency gets paid every time anyone turns around in connection with the sculpture competition. His public relations counsel got paid for thinking up the scheme, for contacting the various art celebrities who have joined up, and for preparing de' Medici's treatise on patronage. The museum directors get paid, not only a fee for service, plus usually lush expenses, but also in the professional opportunity to look at the art, especially the sculpture, of course, of a new region. The art editor counsellor gets paid in cash, in enhancing his own standing with the selected directors and, if he has any astuteness at all, in a page ad or so telling the art world all about Big John de' Medici. It is possible, in fact, for this type to make quite a good thing of such a project. After being consultant, with appropriate travel and living it up, he can often persuade the sponsor to pay for color plates in a spread in the magazine; he can then edit a book on the project, knocking down in many directions, and finally get more subsidized color for his magazine's review of the book.

As for dé Medici, he gets more than anyone. In the first place, none of this activity costs him a cent. It is all part of the expenses of promoting Louvre Homes and is pro-rated in the cost of each and every Cape Cod split-level ranch house in the development. Moreover, if his consultant is really clever, de' Medici somewhere along the line can pick up a cultural contribution income-tax deduction. If he doesn't do that immediately, a few years later he can have the sculpture assessed at a risen value, donate it to the local museum, and deduct away. Beyond that, he lends a note of distinction – or, rather, borrows one – for Louvre Homes, gets a raft of publicity for his salesmen to work from and enhances his reputation as a community benefactor. A project or two more like this and the Junior Chamber will name him Man-of-the-Year.

So everybody wins. Everybody except the artist. He loses. The $500 fee noted above is usually accurate enough. Even if the amount is higher, it is rarely enough higher to constitute a "prize," as it is inevitably called. The fee is simply a fee. The sculptor gets paid for doing a bit of work, but in order even to have a chance at the job, he must, in effect, do what is his major contribution first. Furthermore, if the prize is pro-rated among all the artists entering, all of whose work is used one way or another, the cost for art per artist is very low indeed. The project obtains an art exhibition and a permanent art decoration at Louvre Homes and something like 90 percent of the investment is in overhead.

If you, dear friend, are about to be involved in some kind of art for industry program – and sooner or later almost everyone is – here are a few rules for keeping the entente cordiale.

First and fundamental, never confuse a prize with a payment for goods. A prize is a sum of money or something else of value given to the creator of a work judged the best in a group. Excellence is the criterion and it is excellence alone, not possession, that is being paid for. If you go shopping in the Main Street stores for a hat, your final selection is not a prize-winner; it is simply the hat you have decided to buy. If you give a prize, the key word is "give." On the other hand, if you want to select a piece of art for a permanent location on your property, quality in the artists is more important than quality in the judges. Best approach is to collect a few top national artists, pay them for sketches and select from the sketches. If local good will is a factor and it is felt that this will be served by using local artists, do the same thing. With the best advice available – paid for, as with a lawyer – select several locals to do sketches and pay them for the sketches. Then pay the man you like best to complete his work. The best thing art can get from business is an ordinary, business-like approach.

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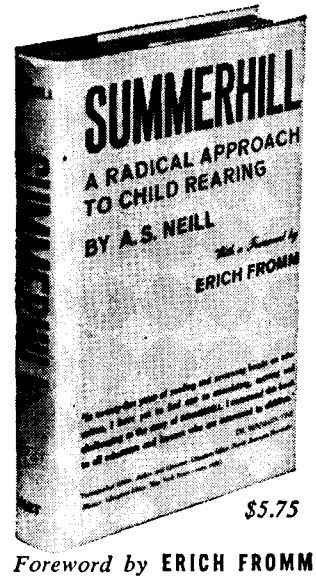

Foreword by **ERICH FROMM**

THE UNIQUE book described on this page may alter your entire life and affect forever the happiness of yourself and your children. When you read SUMMERHILL: *A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*, you may get the shock of your life – for this meaningful book will challenge your most cherished beliefs about how to bring up a child!

Here is the fascinating story of Summerhill, a school in England which has been in operation for forty years—perhaps the most revolutionary school in the world – *a school where children don't even attend classes unless they want to!* Yet this school produces youngsters whose academic achievement is high, and whose emotional stability is unparalleled!

A. S. Neill, Summerhill's headmaster, bluntly declares that most parents make a mess of the job of raising children. What's more, he says, our accepted ways of discipline – our traditional ideas about respect – our taken-for-granted notions about how to teach morals – are positively evil. As a result, we often produce children who are a trial to their parents, a trial to their teachers and even a trial to themselves—and who in later life throng the offices of psychiatrists.

Every parent knows the child who whines, who resentfully breaks things, who nags, who becomes painfully bored, and who has overpowering spells of unhappiness. As a parent, you are often at a loss to know whether you're too easy with your child or too hard. In despair, you wonder what is wrong with the way you handle him. Perhaps you seek counsel; but despite the talk, despite the worry, you seldom find the answer which yields an effective change.

A better way . . .

Is there a better way to rear and educate children? Yes, says Mr. Neill, the way it's done at Summerhill! Here is a school which turns out genuinely contented and productive youngsters. These boys and girls do *not* make the impossible demands on their parents that other children do. Brought up in an atmosphere of love and approval – without adult pressure – Summerhill's *self*-disciplined children grow up to be a joy to their parents and a lasting joy to themselves.

Don't misunderstand. Neill does not advocate that we permit our children to run all over us. He is positively wrathful against parents who permit children to rule the roost, to wantonly interrupt adult conversation, to stalk into the living room and turn on the television set regardless of whether that annoys others present. He doesn't believe that we should coddle our children so that they dominate their parents and others around them.

He is, however, a firm believer in freedom for the child – *freedom without license* – and makes no bones about the unconscious tyranny of parents, which most of us are woefully unaware of.

Summerhill's meaning for you . . .

This book may well make you angry, but it will also make you *think*. It will smash many of your established beliefs about child rearing, but it will replace them with positive, constructive ideas. SUMMERHILL will demand of you a searching re-examination of your role as parent, but it will reward you with new insights.

Above all, this penetrating book will help you forge enduring bonds of love between you and your child. Respect will follow – *real* respect – not veneer respect – not the obedience which comes from fear. SUMMERHILL will help you eliminate those harrowing parent-child conflicts, with all the heartaches they cause. And this great book will help you make your home a happy, serene place for raising children who will, one day, be truly free and mature adults.

Not in many years has any book won such enthusiastic acclaim from educators and professionals.

***Here is what some leading educators and authors say about* SUMMERHILL:**

BENJAMIN FINE *(Education Editor, North Amer. Newspaper Alliance; formerly Education Editor, The New York Times; Pulitzer Prize-winning author)*

"In 25 years of reading and reviewing books on education, I have yet to find one as stimulating, exciting and challenging as the story of SUMMERHILL. Every one of its pages is filled with delightful warmth and encouragement."

ASHLEY MONTAGU *(Anthropologist and Social Biologist; author and educator)*

"Anyone who is in any way concerned with the education of children should make this book required reading."

STUART CHASE *(Author of numerous books and articles on economic and social affairs)*

"The book will, I think, stir up an argument in any intelligent family interested in education, and I hope it is widely read."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *(Pastor Emeritus, Community Church of N.Y.; Chairman of the Board, American Civil Liberties Union)*

"His is a great experiment, and I believe in experiments."

DWIGHT MACDONALD *(Staff Editor for The New Yorker Magazine)*

"One reads it with the irritation, excitement, and finally sympathy, that any original idea always provokes. The trouble is that one can't help thinking that Mr. Neill is right."

HENRY MILLER *(Author of "Tropic of Cancer," "The Cosmological Eye," and numerous other books)*

"I know of no educator in the Western world who can compare with A. S. Neill. It seems to me that he stands alone. SUMMERHILL is a tiny ray of light in a world of darkness. Its aim is to create happy, contented people, not cultural misfits dedicated to war, insanity and canned knowledge."

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A. S. NEILL, ***headmaster of Summerhill, speaks on parents, children, and the education of both. Here are a few passages from the text of*** **SUMMERHILL:**

"If your child lies, either he is afraid of you or he is copying you. Lying parents will have lying children. If you want the truth from him, do not lie to him."

"A cynical or a spiteful parental tongue can do untold damage to a child. We all know fathers who sneer at their sons. *Butterfingers, you can't do a thing without bungling it.* Such men likewise show their hatred of their wives by constant criticism. And there are wives who rule husbands and children through brow-beating and streams of abuse."

"Girls who were spanked by their mothers grow into spankers themselves. An excellent illustration is the game in which children play school. Teacher whacks all the time."

"The future of Summerhill itself may be of little import. But the future of the Summerhill idea is of the greatest importance to humanity. New generations must be given the chance to grow in freedom. The bestowal of freedom is the bestowal of love. And only love can save the world."

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